

The copy filmed here has been reproduced thanks to the generosity of:

Toronto Public Library
North York Central Library
Canadiana Department

The images appearing here are the best quality possible considering the condition and legibility of the original copy and in keeping with the filming contract specifications.

Original copies in printed paper covers are filmed beginning with the front cover and ending on the last page with a printed or illustrated impression, or the back cover when appropriate. All other original copies are filmed beginning on the first page with a printed or illustrated impression, and ending on the last page with a printed or illustrated impression.

The last recorded frame on each microfiche shall contain the symbol $\rightarrow$ (meaning "CONTINUED"), or the symbol ∇ (meaning "END"), whichever applies.

Maps, plates, charts, etc., may be filmed at different reduction ratios. Those too large to be entirely included in one exposure are filmed beginning in the upper left hand corner, left to right and top to bottom, as many frames as required. The following diagrams illustrate the method:

1	2	3
---	---	---

1	2
4	5

L'exemplaire filmé fut reproduit grâce à la générosité de:

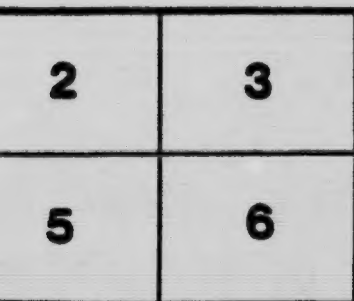
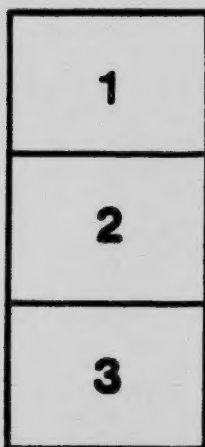
Toronto Public Library
North York Central Library
Canadiana Department

Les images suivantes ont été reproduites avec le plus grand soin, compte tenu de la condition et de la netteté de l'exemplaire filmé, et en conformité avec les conditions du contrat de filmage.

Les exemplaires originaux dont la couverture en papier est imprimée sont filmés en commençant par le premier plat et en terminant soit par la dernière page qui comporte une empreinte d'impression ou d'illustration, soit par le second plat, selon le cas. Tous les autres exemplaires originaux sont filmés en commençant par la première page qui comporte une empreinte d'impression ou d'illustration et en terminant par la dernière page qui comporte une telle empreinte.

Un des symboles suivants apparaîtra sur la dernière image de chaque microfiche, selon le cas: le symbole $\rightarrow$ signifie "A SUIVRE", le symbole ∇ signifie "FIN".

Les cartes, planches, tableaux, etc., peuvent être filmés à des taux de réduction différents. Lorsque le document est trop grand pour être reproduit en un seul cliché, il est filmé à partir de l'angle supérieur gauche, de gauche à droite, et de haut en bas, en prenant le nombre d'images nécessaire. Les diagrammes suivants illustrent la méthode.



SPEECH BY MR. W. T. WHITE.

Among the most potent factors against the Reciprocity agreement was the campaign conducted throughout Ontario by Mr. W. T. White, one of the eighteen Liberals. His presentation of the economic argument was so clear and forceful that it has been decided to preserve a synopsis of his speech in this collection. The following is taken from a report in the "Brockville Times." Mr. White, in part, said:

Reciprocity was the most momentous issue in the history of Canada since Confederation. It was not party politics: it was a great national and economic question. And it was impersonal—not a matter of Laurier or Borden, but of CANADA. It was most unfortunate that party politics had been introduced into the battle, but with a system of party government that was probably unavoidable. He felt sure that a referendum would have proved the people to be opposed to it. Personally, he held the greatest respect and appreciation of both Sir Wilfrid Laurier and Mr. Fielding, but he differed from them strongly on this question. There was no question about the loyalty of either Liberals or Conservatives. He believed that the Liberals and Conservatives of Canada were the most intensely loyal subjects in the whole Empire.

What was Reciprocity? An agreement for the free exchange of natural products across the boundary line between Canada and the United States. People called this boundary "an imaginary line." Since when had it been "imaginary"? For the past forty years it had been an impenetrable tariff wall. This great barrier had, in fact, governed the conduct and management of both Canada and the United States for years and years. It had directed the course of trade and of legislation and of thought, and had caused it to flow east and west. And now suddenly it was proposed to tear down a large part of this wall, and advocates of Reciprocity argued that this would make no appreciable difference to Canada! How could it help making a difference? Reciprocity removed the Protection enjoyed by the farmer and caused the trade in farm produce to run north and south.

But the Reciprocists say: "Reciprocity must be right because both parties have favored it for years." That was not quite true. Who had ever heard of Reciprocity during the

past ten years in Canadian politics? But supposing that both parties had actually favored it in the past, was that not almost enough to prove that Reciprocity must be wrong? For did not both sides claim the other side to be entirely wrong? But, seriously speaking, the abrogation of the Reciprocity treaty in 1866 and the passage of the hostile McKinley tariff in 1891 were amongst the best things that ever happened to Canada. It seemed as though at times Providence had stepped in to rescue Canada from the hands of the two big political parties. Confederation had been hastened by the abrogation of the old Reciprocity treaty, and Canada had learned now that it did not depend upon the United States for its existence. What was the use of quoting the utterances of men long since dead? We are dealing with the future, not with the past.

* * *

It was claimed that the farmer was going to be given the great advantages of Reciprocity. The farmer was going to get great prices for his hay, eggs, etc. And the consumer was going to live more cheaply. How could that be? The man who had discovered how the farmer was going to get more and the consumer pay less for farm produce was a marvellous discoverer who should rank with Columbus. But there was the middleman—ah, he was the rascal to be blotted out! And Mr. White described, amid great laughter, what a real blessing the middleman was, after all. All that one had to do now was to telephone the wicked middleman grocer, butcher or merchant and tell him to send up whatever you wanted to eat, and to charge it up! Why, who wants to abolish the middleman?

* * *

The primary trouble in considering the question was that so many people in Canada assumed that, of course, the United States was the better market without realizing what tremendous progress had been going on right at home. For years the United States market has been held up as the great goal of Canadians, and it was desperately hard to knock out this first old impression. But the fruit growers and farmers of Canada were rapidly waking up to the fact that Reciprocity with the United States meant loss to them. Others were realizing that the United States was a competitor with Canada in food products and manufactures. There was a lot of talk about the 90,000,000 market. One would imagine that these 90,000,000 were leaning up against the boundary line with their mouths open waiting to be fed by the Canadian farmer. But they have been feeding themselves very well for the past generation, and have not only done that, but have sold surplus food stuff to the extent of \$500,000,000. Indeed, Canada itself had in the past five years been buying a good deal of stuff from the 32,000,000 farmers of the United States.

Then there was the argument that Reciprocity would provide a third market for Canada. That looked like a good thing. "But you always lost money on a good thing." It wasn't like Uncle Sam, that shrewd and wily business man, to be giving "good things" away for nothing. And Canada was in return for this doubtful compact giving away the best asset it possessed, the best market in the world—the home market! Not only that, but it opened it to the twelve favored nations, from whom it could exact no reciprocal favors, and their competition combined would be equal to that of the United States.

Now, what has made this great Canadian home market? Was it not the vast and abounding prosperity which made Canada the envy and admiration of the whole world? No other country enjoyed the wonderful prosperity which Canada did, with its annual trade of over seven hundred millions, and its three transcontinental roads. There was not one genuinely transcontinental road in the United States. Look at the C.P.R., that marvellous advertisement of Canada, built by four million Canadians! It took pluck and brains to build it. Mr. Jim Hill hadn't the nerve to build it. But it was the foundation of Canada, and its prosperity was the prosperity of Canada. What built that wonderful railway? The tariff wall that it was now proposed to break down! Look at the Canadian Northern, and the Grand Trunk Pacific. The building of these roads meant that British capital was flowing into Canada, and Canadian brains and pluck was using it to build up the land. The railways were opening up the West and creating new traffic and trade, and if Canadians have any sense they will retain this great home market. Think of the bank deposits of Canada—\$800,000,000—the savings of the richest people in the world. And where was the great financial centre of the world—was it not London? That was where the capital for Canada came from. And Canada was only on the threshold of its development—only beginning to scratch the fertile soil of its native resources.

* * * * *

How did the United States build up its country? By building up its home market. It didn't allow other nations to invade it, but jealously protected it. Was it wise for the farmer to risk his home market by opening it to the remorseless trusts and combines of the United States? What about cheese? Canada made better cheese than the United States, and got higher prices for it. And where was its destination but the English market, which governed the price and for which all producers are striving. But with Reciprocity Canadian cheese would lose its identity and character and become simply "American cheese." And good quality was essential to retain the English market. Like all things English, it was

necessary to give quality to gain their confidence, and we think we have their confidence now.

Under Reciprocity the Canadian horse market would suffer. To-day the Canadian farmer breeds the best general purpose horses in the world, and gets better prices for them than in the United States, but without a tariff to protect him he could not hold his own against the flood of cheap horses which can be raised in the States, owing to climatic conditions. The cheap horses from Iowa would capture the western market now held by the eastern Canadian farmer.

Mr. White then gave United States official figures showing the better prices paid in Canada for sundry agricultural products, and explained the complex conditions which governed the market prices of farm produce in the States.

* * * * *

One tremendous advantage of the Canadian home market, which could only be realized and appreciated by one who had lived in the United States, was its STABILITY. Stability was the foundation of trade. In the United States the prices fluctuated in a manner unknown in Canada. This fluctuation and uncertainty was largely owing to the trusts which controlled everything—meat, fruit, vegetables, etc. Not long ago he was on a public platform with Mr. Dilworth, a prominent market gardener near Toronto, and a life-long Liberal, and Mr. Dilworth's protests against Reciprocity came from his very heart. The vegetable growers never had a chance to present their case to the Government. When they sent a deputation down to Ottawa, Premier Laurier politely told them they were "too late." It was well known that the profits in the fruit and vegetable business were made in the first two weeks that the articles were on the market. The public wanted them and were willing to pay for the luxury. The price usually fell from, say, 9 cents per pound in the first two weeks on the market, to 9 cents per box later on. Under Reciprocity what would happen? Simply this: the United States fruit and vegetable grower would get the 9 cents per pound instead of the Canadian, and the consumer would not get his first fruit or vegetables any cheaper, because the United States trusts would control the market. The climate of the United States gave their fruit and vegetable men a great advantage over the Canadian gardener.

* * * * *

The truth was that the United States wanted to tap the "stream of gold" which to-day was flowing between east and west in Canada, and divert it to the south. The manufacturers and boards of trade of Canada were against Reciprocity. Why? The Government has declared that it will not touch the tariff so far as manufacturers are concerned. But the Government must yield to public opinion, and the farmers certainly will

not submit to protection for the manufacturers while they are unprotected. The truth was that the Reciprocity treaty, secretly made and suddenly sprung upon Canada, is the uninvited guest in Canada. But the people are waking up fast. They realize that we must be all bond, or all free, and that President Taft and his friends intend that Canada and the United States shall be all one ultimately if it can be accomplished. These gentlemen, as well as sundry newspapers, had declared their intention in plain, unmistakable language, and the question is: are we going to allow these intentions to be carried out? Only 18 months ago the United States swung the club over Canada's head, and threatened to impose her maximum tariff because Canada had made a treaty with France. And Canada had to get down on its knees to make concessions. Canadians need make no mistake about it: the ultimate aim of United States politicians is the commercial union of Canada and the States.

To-day Canada is booming with prosperity, while the United States is stagnant and depressed. The cause of this lay primarily in the constitution of the United States, which provided for presidential elections every four years, and caused a lot of turmoil and uncertainty owing to tariff tinkering. The markets there fluctuated greatly, and those well knew who had to watch them. The truth is that the United States business man doesn't know where he stands to-day.

Mr. White drew a striking picture of the United States from 1900 to the present time, showing the successive waves of stock market panics, bank troubles, presidential elections, and upheaval of business stability. He also quoted from the Toronto Globe of 1861, in which the existing Reciprocity was discussed, and when the Globe pointed out that under Reciprocity Canada was so closely allied to the United States that every passing wave of panic or depression in the United States would be similarly felt in Canada.

To-day there were idle ships in United States ports and idle men in their cities, while the trusts were squeezing the producer and consumer alike. Why did Canada escape this? Because we are fiscally independent of the United States. All these things should be considered before we leap in the dark. If Canada will only leave things alone we shall not know hard times in a generation.

Mr. White quoted Premier Laurier's fervent appeal for support in building the National Transcontinental Railway in order to head off the diversion of Canadian trade into the United States, and then discussed the wheat aspect of the matter. The Western farmer was getting his eyes opened to the designs of our friends to the south, and did not propose to let them control his wheat. The place to mill Canadian wheat

was in Canada, not in the States. Port Arthur and Fort William were getting hot about the dragging of the United States papers as to what they were going to get under reciprocity.

In conclusion, Mr. White urged his audience to think well over the situation when they voted on the 21st. Those who derided the idea of annexation should ponder the words of President Taft and Champ Clark. These men spoke with deliberation and weight. They contemplated the ultimate absorption of Canada if their words meant anything at all. Could anyone recall one friendly act of the United States to Canada? But they were very friendly now when they wanted something, and when the rise of Japan had made them value British friendship highly. But Canada should go along its own way, on friendly terms with its neighbor, but with no entangling alliance to breed ill-feeling. The destiny of Canada lay within the great British Empire, which Providence had made the greatest single influence for good in the world today. The policy of the Motherland should be one to make all the component nations keep together, each controlling its own affairs.

